

roles which were subservient to those of the men. However, their status at that time cannot be compared with their position as wives of Filipinos. How long this new form will continue, or to what extent it will become established, remains to be seen. It is interesting to observe as a change in a different direction from that of only a few years ago.

Unfortunately, our data do not permit prediction of developments out of this situation because only a few cases of intermarriage have as yet occurred, and these have taken place only during the last few years. Moreover, the women concerned are still young, and these mixed couples do not live with the wife's family where the older Pomo women would impose their pattern; hence there is little fraternization between the two groups.

Nonetheless, it is plain from the changes in this society that have been observed over the past few years that there is present in every population the possibility of more than one type of social organization, and that both of these, or some combination of them, can fuse into a functioning system.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Cf. Aginsky, 1935a and b.

## PREMARITAL FREEDOM ON TRUK: THEORY AND PRACTICE<sup>1</sup>

By WARD H. GOODENOUGH

LIKE many other Oceanic peoples, the natives of Truk allow their adolescents considerable freedom in sexual matters. There is no stigma of any kind attached to young men or women who have sexual relations before marriage. No value whatsoever is attributed to virginity in girls or boys. All informants agree that girls normally start having intercourse when, at about the age of fourteen, their breasts become fairly well developed. The initial sexual experiences of boys occur at a somewhat later age, between the ages of sixteen and seventeen.

Little instruction in sex matters is given to children by their parents. Young people learn about sex from talking with others of their own age and from watching adults at night. Adults, however, make no attempt to guard their talk in the presence of children; sex is frankly alluded to in stories and gossip, whether children are present or not. In short, there is nothing secret about sex in talk, though the mechanics of sex relations remain somewhat mysterious to children, except as clarified by spying and questioning of near age-mates. Once sexual activities commence, adolescents of both sexes help educate each other by comparing notes.

After marriage, a couple is supposed to give up experimental amours and remain faithful. Adultery is censured. At the same time, people still have legitimate sexual outlets with persons other than their spouses, since it is not held adulterous for a man to sleep with his wife's sister or brother's wife. This privileged relationship applies not only to own siblings of a spouse, but to a spouse's lineage siblings as well. Thus, in theory, the transition from premarital freedom to marital fidelity is eased through permissive sibling-in-law relationships.

With such a relatively free and easy approach to sex, one would not expect the Trukese to have much in the way of guilt-feelings associated with sexual relations. No evidence of such, even in connection with adultery, was encountered, except when an affair involved a relative who was supposed to be taboo. There is, however, a sense of modesty about sex and genital exposure which requires that intercourse be carried on in strict privacy.

Aside from the lack of guilt-feeling, the interests of a number of the young

<sup>1</sup> The field work on which this paper is based was conducted on Truk from July, 1947, to January, 1948, under the auspices of the Pacific Science Board of the National Research Council and the Office of Naval Research, United States Navy, in connection with the program known as the Coordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology. The work on Truk was undertaken cooperatively by a group from Yale University consisting of G. P. Murdock, I. Dyen, T. F. Gladwin, F. M. LeBar and the writer. The entire group has in various ways directly or indirectly contributed to this paper. E. H. Ackerknecht, C. W. M. Hart, and J. H. Useem have been kind enough to offer helpful suggestions in its preparation.

men in sex seemed surprisingly like those of American adolescents, or of men working in lumber camps, or in the Army, or in other places where women are relatively unavailable. The conversation of young men between sixteen and thirty years of age was constantly dwelling on sex, and one heard much good-natured banter about it. The lengths to which an individual might go to achieve intercourse, and the failures which he had suffered, frequently provided the theme of such joking. Some of the young men carried pornographic photographs obtained from the Japanese during the war, while older informants stated that in aboriginal times men used to make pornographic carvings on tree trunks. Masturbation was said to be fairly common among the younger adolescents.

Margaret Mead has written of the Samoans:<sup>2</sup> "It seems difficult to account for a salacious attitude among a people where so little is mysterious, so little forbidden." She also associated their lack of interest in romantic love, as evidenced by their failure to respond to the Romeo and Juliet story, with this same permissive factor. In Truk, however, romantic stories of constant lovers who withstand all obstacles to the tragic end are popular. Love charms used to be widely employed, and the young man or woman of today who can come by one counts himself fortunate. Cliffs are pointed out as locally famous lovers' leaps. Love affairs involve elaborate signalling devices, serenades, go-betweens, the exchange of tokens, and mutual scarification with cigarette ends as indications of undying affection. Dr. Isadore Dyen has made recordings of native love songs which were formerly frequently used in serenading. Whenever these were played back to the natives, the reaction of the women was like that of early silent film audiences to Rudolph Valentino.

The Trukese themselves recognize that young people are preoccupied with sex, and give this as the reason why special lore and skills are not learned until middle age. Before that, they say, they are only interested in sex. Indeed, what might be called adolescent behavior in this respect lasts in the case of men into the late twenties and early thirties.

Shortly prior to leaving the field, it seemed worth-while to look into the question of whether the preoccupation of young people with sex and romantic love, despite the permissiveness of the culture, might not result from considerable frustration in achieving satisfactory sexual experiences. Since the moral code did not appear to supply the basis for such frustration, the sociological aspects of the problem were examined with what appears to be fruitful results.

The first point to be kept in mind is that while premarital freedom exists in theory, in practice it is difficult to realize. To exercise premarital freedom with safety, young men are largely confined to their own community. In earlier days, it was said, going to women of other communities was one of the chief

<sup>2</sup> Mead, 1928, p. 137.

causes of warfare. Trukese communities are small. That in which most of the information presented here was collected consisted of 230 persons of all ages. The community is generally composed of from four to six exogamous matrilineal kin groups. Incest taboos are also extended bilaterally. There were only ten women and eleven men aged fourteen to twenty in the community studied. With such small numbers, it is likely that at any one time some young men may have several girls who are unmarried and not taboo available to them, while others may have none at all. In addition to this, young men mature socially later than women, who marry at a younger age. Only one of the ten women mentioned above was single, while only one of the eleven men was married. Half of the remaining ten adolescents were not in competition because the girls did not consider them sufficiently mature to take them seriously. The older lads were forced to compete for the favors of the one girl, or to take their chances in adulterous affairs with married women. It was the behavior of these youths under twenty which resembled that of adolescents in our own society.

Once the young men manage to get married—which they usually do in their early twenties as the younger crop of women comes along—we might expect their preoccupation with sex and adulterous affairs to diminish rapidly, since partners supplied by their wives and wives' sisters are now available to them. While they no longer need resort to such means of sexual gratification as masturbation, it is actually at about the time of marriage, when they have reached an age to be taken seriously by the women, that they become most involved in adulterous affairs and remain so until they are about thirty years of age.

Several factors help account for this. For one thing, some marriages are arranged. Even when they are not arranged, the frustrations of the teen-agers tend to cause young men to marry the first available girls as a solution to their problem. They then continue in the competition for the more desirable girls as the latter mature. Most important, however, is the nature of the marriage relationship itself, as contrasted with the so-called sweetheart relationship. In marriage, the husband is subordinate to the authority of his wife's brothers and the men of her lineage. His wife must side with her brothers against him. In turn, his obligations to his own lineage take precedence over his obligations to his wife. These lineage obligations on both sides keep the marital relationship from yielding the satisfactions which result when a couple puts its joint interests above all other considerations.

With the extramarital sweetheart relationship the case is quite the reverse. Here the man and woman put their mutual attraction above everything else. A man caught with another man's wife can expect a severe beating from the injured husband's brothers. In aboriginal times he might have been killed, while today adulterers receive short jail terms. Husbands beat their wives for

committing adultery. It is the willingness to run such risks for one another's sake in this relationship which seems to supply the ego-satisfaction of being loved.<sup>3</sup>

Ideally, sweetheart relationships lead to marriage. However, in the few cases where the social realities have made this possible, the requirements of the marital roles have tended to negate the previous relationship. The Trukese recognize this, and say that once you marry your sweetheart, though you may continue to feel genuine affection for her, you tend to look about again for a new one. They rationalize this in terms of the sexual availability of one's spouse, and say that one can derive genuine satisfaction only from the more hazardous extramarital relationships.

It is the sweetheart relationship, then, as expressed in extramarital affairs, which is the major preoccupation of young men between the ages of twenty and thirty. To carry on such affairs successfully requires great patience and the ability to put up with repeated frustration. It is difficult for a man so much as to speak with a married woman without arousing immediate suspicion, with the result that the woman will then be closely watched by her husband's relatives, increasing the difficulty of consummating an affair. The matrilocal extended family, with its women doing most of their work as a group, makes it difficult for a man to find his sweetheart alone. The lack of privacy in the small communities, where everyone knows what everyone else is doing, adds to this difficulty. The young man must be constantly on the alert so as not to miss the rare opportunities which come his way to arrange a rendezvous. For these reasons go-betweens are almost indispensable. This also explains why elaborate signalling systems are found. With so many obstacles in the way of such affairs, it is understandable why the Trukese say that young people are preoccupied with sex. They have to be if they are to conduct their affairs successfully.

Because of the risks incurred in conducting these affairs, the Trukese express concern over the prospect of betrayal, especially that in which a married woman betrays a lover to her husband. The ability to be circumspect in the presence of others is prized. The mutual scarification of lovers, when circumstances permit it, and other tokens of undying affection serve as assurances of mutual loyalty, and signify that the many frustrations in achieving clandestine meetings are not being endured only for the sake of a casual affair. It is not surprising that steadfast lovers play a prominent role in romantic stories; or that betrayal, unrequited love, and the difficulties of making assignations provide the subject matter for songs.

Thus far we have discussed the direct preoccupation with sex of the teen-aged men in relation to the fact that, despite premarital freedom in theory,

<sup>3</sup> There is little evidence that the motive for young men to commit adultery is a simple competitive one. There seems to be little boasting about successful night excursions. Informants were much more likely to tell of narrow escapes on unsuccessful ventures.

young women are actually rarely available to them. We have seen how subsequent extramarital affairs provide the kinds of ego-satisfaction which are not obtainable in marriage. All this, plus the difficulties of carrying on such affairs, provides the basis for the Trukese interest in romantic love.

The native preoccupation with sex receives additional reinforcement from the fact that when intercourse occurs, it is difficult to achieve the kind of mutually satisfying experience which the Trukese value. This is especially true in clandestine relations. Intercourse must take place either in the bush or in the woman's home, at night. In the latter case there is the ever-present risk of discovery in the extended family household, so that the sex act must be inhibited in order to prevent noise. The small territorial units and fairly dense population<sup>4</sup> also make day-time assignations in the bush risky. Informants stated that the best place for such assignations was in a thicket just off a main path, where one could quickly seek cover when the coast was clear. Needless to say, intercourse under these conditions, practically under the noses of passers by, is difficult to make mutually satisfying.

These difficulties are especially significant because the Trukese value simultaneous orgasm by both partners in the sex act. Intercourse is often likened to a contest in which the partner who first achieves an orgasm is said to lose to the other. The men say that a woman may laugh at a man if he fails to satisfy her. Yet the conditions under which clandestine intercourse takes place impair the chances of orgasm in the woman. Indeed, informants define many situations as allowing for only quick intercourse. It should be added that while married partners have greater opportunities for mutually satisfactory sexual relations, informants expressed concern over waking their house-mates, the sense of modesty inhibiting even marital intercourse.<sup>5</sup>

The various methods of intercourse reflect this problem. Most male informants were familiar only with clitoral orgasm in women. The method of intercourse used to achieve this is quieter than those which presumably lead to so-called vaginal orgasm, and is preferred, though methods of the latter type are also employed. The statements made by informants as to the relative merits of various girls with whom they had had experiences, and life-history materials collected by Gladwin, suggest that even clitoral orgasm is achieved only occasionally, and not at all by some women. The frequency with which clitoral orgasm is mentioned in the joking of young men and the interest their conversation exhibits in those parts of the female genitalia which they associ-

<sup>4</sup> The average population density for all the islands of Truk, inhabited or uninhabited, is 233 persons per square mile. Romonum, the island most intensively studied, has the densest population today: 798 persons per square mile, the island being only three tenths of a square mile in area.

<sup>5</sup> One informant, living in the same house with his wife, her sister, her sister's husband, and her father and mother, said that he usually employed a certain position in his relations with his wife because it was the quietest one he knew.

ate with it suggest considerable preoccupation with the problem of not "losing," as they say, to the woman.

It could well be argued that recent events in Truk have served to produce much of the preoccupation of young people with sex. A number of young women in the community studied were married to Japanese soldiers during the war, which undoubtedly added to the frustration of the young men. Older informants, however, indicate that substantially the same picture prevailed in aboriginal times, and the many ways in which the culture seems to be oriented to this situation, as we have already seen, indicate that native preoccupation with sex is not new, however much it may have been intensified by recent events.

The situation on Truk demonstrates that permissive attitudes and a relatively frank approach to sexual intercourse do not necessarily result in lowered preoccupation with sex or preclude an idealization of romantic love. If sociological and other situational factors frustrate the achievement of those goals which the permissiveness of the culture leads one to anticipate, preoccupation with them is likely to result. It is also clear that the many aspects of a people's sexual behavior cannot be explained as functions of some one variable, such as permissiveness, which appears as only one of several conditioning factors. The fact that Trukese behavior is in some respects similar to that found among adolescents in our own society suggests that different cultural and sociological factors in different combinations may result in similar modes of behavior.

Finally, the suggestion may be offered that field workers interested in understanding adult sexual behavior should, in the future, pay more attention to the sociological factors which facilitate or hinder sexual expression, rather than concentrate solely on the culturally patterned attitudes and their relation to childhood training.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> In this respect this paper is a corollary to that of Goldfrank, 1945, in which she pointed out that early childhood training among the Pueblo Indians was such that it would lead one to expect different adult personality patterns from those which actually obtain. Leighton and Kluckhohn, 1947, pp. 110-111, note the same apparent inconsistency between childhood training and adult personality among the Navaho.

#### RECENT TRENDS IN SOVIET ANTHROPOLOGY

By D. B. SHIMKIN

*Trudy Instituta Etnografiyi* im. N. N. Miklukho-Maklaya (Memoirs of the Institute of Ethnography named for N. N. Miklukho-Maklaya) t. I (1947), pp. 284; t. II (1947), pp. 316 Akademiya Nauk Soyuz SSR.

*Sovietskaya Etnografiya* (Soviet Ethnography) 1948, Nos. 1 pp. 260; 2, pp. 256; 3, pp. 216; 4, pp. 228. Akademiya Nauk SSR.

*Sovietskaya Arkheologiya* (Soviet Archeology) t. VIII (1946), pp. 320; t. IX (1947), pp. 330. Akademiya Nauk SSR. Institut Istoriyi Material'noi Kul'tury im. N. Ya. Marra (Institute for the History of Material Culture named for N. Ya. Marr).

POSTWAR anthropological publications from the Soviet Union are now becoming available in sufficient quantity to permit a determination of current emphases in subject matter and theory, and of major recent findings. In the materials reviewed, the *Memoirs (Trudy) of the Institute of Ethnography*, despite their title, are in fact primarily devoted to physical anthropology (specifically, anthropometry and racial classification), archeology and prehistory, with fewer articles on religion, the history of Russian anthropology, social organization, and linguistics. The principal focus of *Sovietskaya Etnografiya* is folk literature, art and music, with secondary stress on social organization, anthropological history and theory, comparative economics and technology, and other miscellaneous subjects. It should be noted that neither articles nor reviews indicate continuing work in a number of areas which were once outstandingly represented in Russian anthropology—studies of comparative law, comparative psychology and individual variability.<sup>1</sup> Finally, *Sovietskaya Arkheologiya* ranges in scope from Paleolithic to Medieval times: the journal includes site descriptions, reconstructions of regional complexes and temporal sequences, and functional interpretations in which historical and ethnological materials are used to illuminate archeological finds.

Political direction is openly manifested in Soviet anthropology.<sup>2</sup> At least

<sup>1</sup> For illustrations see P. A. Matveyev and S. V. Pakhman (eds): "Collection of Folk Juridical Customs" (*Zapiski Imp. Geog. Obshch. po Otdel. Etno.* Vol. 8, 1878; Vol. 18, 1900); S. I. Mitskevich: "Menerik and Emeryachenye—Forms of hysteria in the Kolyma region" (*Materialy Komissiyi po Izuch. Yakutskoi ASSR* Vol. 15, 1929); and Yu. M. Sokolov: *Russkii Fol'klor* (Russian Folklore), Moscow, (1938), esp. p. 308 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See Anonymous: "Present tasks of Soviet archeology" (*Sovietskaya Arkheologiya* IX, pp. 5-10, 1947); Anonymous: "The tasks of ethnographers in connection with the situation on the musical front" (*Sovietskaya Etnografiya* 1948, No. 2, pp. 3-7); Anonymous: "The Michurin development in biology and Soviet (physical) anthropology" (*Sovietskaya Etnografiya* 1948, No. 4, pp. 9-22).